

Nation's Governors and legislatures have been willing, but there is only one person who stands in the way of Medicaid and welfare reform. His name is Bill Clinton. He is the President of the United States. He said he was for reforming these two programs when he ran for President 4 years ago. But it has been 4 years and nothing has happened and nothing did happen until Republicans gained control of the House and Senate.

It should be very clear to our colleagues and the American people, this Republican Senate and the Republican House, the Nation's Governors, and many of our Democratic friends in the House and Senate are in agreement on what needs to be done. Will the President of the United States get that message before this next Presidential campaign? If he does not, my suggestion is that the American people will send that message loud and clear, because we should not have to wait until 1997 to reform welfare and Medicaid.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT—H.R. 1296

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, on behalf of the leader, I ask unanimous consent that the quorum be waived with respect to the cloture vote this morning on the Murkowski substitute amendment; and further, that Senators have until 10:30 this morning in order to file second-degree amendments to the substitute in accordance with rule XXII.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KYL. Finally, Mr. President, on behalf of the leader, to simply announce that Senators should be alert that the cloture vote will be at approximately 10:30 this morning.

Mr. COVERDELL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

AMERICANS CONDEMNED TO FUTURES WITH NO HOPE

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I want to echo and underscore the remarks of my good colleague from Arizona. I do not know of any issue in the country for which there is more unanimity or agreement than the current status of our welfare programs. You can go to any community, any State, any region, any city, and, as I said, there is a unanimity that this program has failed.

Sometimes in the discussions, we fail to acknowledge what that means. What that means is that hundreds of thousands of Americans have been condemned to stunted futures with no hope, no real education, no real prospect for opportunity in a life as we have come to know to be synonymous with being an American.

You can do anything as long as it is different and it would be better. Every statistic that we have endeavored to

improve with these massive welfare programs, with the exception of one piece of data, is worse today and not just a little worse, but dramatically so. Every condition of the target of the welfare programs is worse, not better. We have higher teenage pregnancies, we have more single-member households, we have less scores in our education programs. It is all worse.

What makes it even more difficult to comprehend is that we have spent more of the Treasury of America on the War on Poverty than we spent on the Second World War, the First World War, Vietnam, Korea, and the Persian Gulf combined. We, essentially, prevailed on those battles, but we have lost the war on poverty. That means that there are millions of Americans today for whom the future is bleak, and we owe our fellow citizens more than this condemnation that we have created in our own country.

To put in context a response, a contemporary response, the President of the United States went to the American people in 1992 and, in his successful bid for the Presidency, said, "This condition must stop. This condition must come to an end. Welfare as we know it will not continue."

He was elected President. He had a majority in the House and the Senate, and in the 103d Congress, the Clinton Congress, nothing happened. Welfare, as we know it, is as it is—unchanged.

Then we come to the 104th Congress and this new majority, and an extensive Welfare Reform Act was passed in the House and in the Senate and sent to the President, the President who had promised the American people that he would end welfare as we know it. Instead, what he ended was welfare reform in the dark of the evening when he vetoed the Welfare Reform Act, which he has now done twice.

So you have to begin to get the picture that if you did not do anything when you were in charge of the Congress and then you vetoed welfare reform twice subsequently, there may be a lack of interest in true welfare reform.

He is running political advertising as we speak today in the Nation's capital, and that advertising says that he is for welfare reform. I only suggest to the American people, at least to this point, there is a massive difference between the rhetoric and the words of the campaign and the actions and the deeds of governments, because we are today going into the final year of this administration, and there is no welfare reform, there is only a record of blocking and stopping.

The bill that went out of the Senate had over 80 votes, Republican and Democrat. He claimed it should be bipartisan. It was, but still vetoed, stopped.

At the end of the day—and I am going to yield in a moment to the Chair—at the end of the day, this is all about American citizens. I do not think history is going to look very kindly on America for what it did to these people

across our land, mostly in our large cities. They are virtual ghettos, prisons from which escape is almost impossible, and that should guide our actions. These programs should be changed if we care about our fellow citizens.

Mr. President, I yield the floor. I will be able to take your post for a moment. I know you want to make some remarks as well.

Mr. INHOFE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COVERDELL). The Chair recognizes the Senator from Oklahoma.

GETTING OUT FROM UNDER THE REDTAPE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, a few weeks ago, the freshman class of the U.S. Senate made a trip around the United States to talk to different groups, different gatherings. We went all the way from Philadelphia to Knoxville, to Minneapolis, to Cheyenne, WY. One of the things we talked about, probably more than anything else, was welfare reform, changing the system as we have come to know it since the 1960's.

The Senator from Missouri, Senator ASHCROFT, was with us during this. He came up with some evidence from the State of Missouri that I thought was quite remarkable. He was talking about the administration of the Medicaid program, how they have been able to file and get out from under the redtape of the Federal Government. The year prior to their being able to administer the Medicaid Program with the amount of money that they had, they reached some 600,000 families throughout the State of Missouri. The next year, or the year following the year that they were able to take over the total jurisdiction and control and administration and come out from under the redtape of the Federal Government—and this was done, I might add, under a Democrat administration, a Democrat director of the department of human services for the State of Missouri—they were able to use that same amount of money and reach 900,000 families. In other words, 50 percent more services were given to families just by eliminating the unnecessary trip and expense and redtape of the Federal Government.

I believe it has been our policy to get as many of these things back to the local level. Having served myself in the State legislature, having served as a mayor of a major city, Tulsa, OK, for three terms, I can tell you that the closer you can get to the people at home, the better a program will be administered.

On welfare, we spent some time looking at the welfare system. The President of the United States, when he ran for President, when Bill Clinton ran for President of the United States, he had a pretty good welfare reform system. In fact, the welfare reform system that